

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

EFFECTS OF HUMANITARIAN AID: A CUBAN CASE STUDY

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The end of the Cold War left Cuba without a superpower ally. It lost military protection and the majority of its trading partners. As the isolated Cuban economy faltered many predicted an end to the Castro government. Cuba entered a "Special Period" plagued with massive shortages of basic goods like fuel, food, and medicine. Cuba's only hope for survival seemed to be to normalize relations with the United States so as to end the embargo. This meant that Cuba would have to acquiesce to U.S. demands for an internal political change to democracy and an economic change to free market capitalism. Instead, Cuba refused to ally with the United States and held firm to its socialist ideology.

Although Cuba was steadfast in its ideology, it was forced to change its foreign policy tactics in order to survive in the new world order. The end of Soviet economic subsidies and military protection made it no longer safe to send Cuban soldiers abroad. To continue with its strategy of military aid to states and revolutionary movements guaranteed Cuba's global isolation and eventual collapse. Cuba turned to non-military engagement as its tool of choice to promote its national interests, strengthen diplomatic relations, and increase trading partners. Chief among its humanitarian tactics is medical diplomacy.

The effects of humanitarian aid are examined using Cuba as a case study. The scope consists of the entire history of Cuban foreign policy since the Cuban Revolution. The emphasis is on the shift from military to humanitarian aid that occurred with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The purpose of examining the variety of countries that Cuba engaged with humanitarian aid is to identify conditional generalizations about the effectiveness of humanitarian aid, especially medical diplomacy. These conditional generalizations provide a basis for recommending U.S. medical diplomacy policy options for its War Against Terrorism.

KEYWORDS: Cuba, Humanitarian Aid, Foreign Policy, Medical Diplomacy

POST UNIFIED KOREAN FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS: REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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Following the prospective unification of Korea, presumably under Seoul's guidance, the government would face the choice between policies of alignment and nonalignment with each major Pacific power. This choice will be influenced by historical predispositions, the path of reunification, Korea's domestic situation, and its relations with each power. As long as the present North Korean threat continues to plague the political and security considerations of South Korea, the ROK has no other viable alternative than the U.S.-ROK security alliance. However, after the elimination of the North Korean threat, a unified Korea will be able to redefine its foreign policy options. Currently, given the predominance of the ongoing war on terrorism, the foreign policy options of a unified Korea are not a top consideration for Washington. This permits the People's Republic of China to play a larger role in the reunification process, which could predispose a unified Korea to tilt toward China. In order for the United States to anticipate and prepare for this event, this thesis analyzes foreign policy options of a unified Korea and the possible political,

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economic, and military ramifications within the realm of international relations that could conceivably occur with the unification of North and South Korea.

KEYWORDS: Korean Unification, Korean Foreign Policy, Korean Alliances, Multilateralism, Sino-Korean Relations, U.S.-Korean Relations

LATIN AMERICAN REGIONAL COOPERATIVE SECURITY: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE

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Regional cooperative security in the Southern Cone has increased since 1980. This thesis examines the extent to which civil-military relations and economic interdependence can account for the emergence of security cooperation by reviewing the reductions in hostilities and increases in cooperation between the two largest Southern Cone countries, Argentina and Brazil, from 1980 to 2000. It examines bilateral security agreements and cooperation, as well as the history, foreign policy initiatives, civil-military relations, and economic interdependence of the case study nations, arguing that both civilian rule and economic interdependence were necessary for the emergence of cooperative security between Argentina and Brazil.

KEYWORDS: Regional Cooperative Security, Civil-Military Relations, Economic Interdependence, Argentina and Brazil

OVERCOMING AMBIVALENCE: THE CASE FOR JAPANESE MARTIAL INTERNATIONALISM

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This thesis seeks to demonstrate that Japan can best satisfy its international security interests by assuming a combatant role in current and future multinational military coalitions. The thesis labels this alternative military posture "Martial Internationalism." An understanding of how Japanese military policy serves its overall international security interests is a central concern of this thesis. Japan's international security interests are defined as: (1) shaping a stable international security environment, (2) supporting the United Nations, and (3) upholding the Japan-United States Alliance. Factors considered in this argument include trends in Japan's postwar military policy evolution and recent military activities and developments. The nature of Japan's current domestic military policy debate is analyzed in terms of relevant political, social, military, and economic perspectives. Regional and international ramifications of a more militarily assertive Japan are explored. The thesis investigates the potential for Martial Internationalism to realize Japan's international security interests and to permit a greater Japanese military contribution to the ongoing War on Terrorism. Finally, the thesis offers specific recommendations for both Japan and the United States toward implementing this alternative strategic design.

KEYWORDS: Japan, Northeast Asia, China, Peacekeeping Operations, U.S.-Japan Alliance, Defense, Security, Coalitions, Terrorism, Japanese Self-Defense Forces, ASEAN, Internationalism, Military

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THE U.S. MARINE CORPS, INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND VICTORY IN THE PACIFIC, 1898-1945

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This thesis investigates the Marine Corps' contribution to the development of naval strategy and amphibious doctrine, organization, tactics, and technology from 1898 to 1945. Coral reefs surrounded numerous Pacific island objectives identified within U.S. war plans to defeat Japan and constituted a formidable barrier to the conduct of amphibious assaults. Until the Landing Vehicle Tracked (LVT) was developed through a collaborative relationship of the Marine Corps and the civilian industrial entrepreneur Donald Roebling, the United States lacked the capability to project power ashore in consonance with its war plans. Roebling's LVT, an amphibian tractor, could surmount coral reefs simply by driving over them. Employed both as a logistics conveyance and as an assault vehicle, the LVT served as the primary conduit by which power was projected and sustained ashore. Without the LVT, the United States could not have achieved victory in the Pacific. The role Roebling played in the transformation of the tracked amphibian into a military vehicle, and the legacy of the LVT's service in the war, upon whose tracks victory in the Pacific rested, are placed within the context of the Marine Corps' pioneering achievements in amphibious warfare.

KEYWORDS: Marine Corps, Amphibious Warfare, Andrew Higgins, Donald Roebling, LVT, Amphibian Tractor

COOPERATIVE SECURITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA: RAMIFICATIONS OF CHANGE IN THE U.S. AND ROK MARITIME STRATEGIES

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Since the end of World War II, stability in Northeast Asia has been a key goal of the United States. Maintaining a balance of power in this maritime theater has proven important for regional stability and global economic growth. The modernization of the South Korean Navy and its changing maritime strategy will have ramifications for the U.S.-Republic of Korea (ROK) relationship in the future. In the current world situation, changing regional threats will require new approaches to maintaining future stability. The United States and South Korea must work together toward achieving stronger bilateral and multilateral relationships with other principal actors in the region to achieve this goal. The purpose of this thesis is to review the changing strategies of the United States and South Korean Navies in Northeast Asia and to examine the ramifications should a more cooperative maritime alliance structure be utilized in the future. It is relevant because the United States has played a vital role in the security of the Korean peninsula since the end of World War II, and because decisions made by South Korea regarding security matters affect the United States and its interests in the region.

KEYWORDS: United States, Republic of Korea, Northeast Asia, Navy, Maritime, Naval History, Naval Strategy, Naval Security

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JAPAN, RUSSIA AND THE “NORTHERN TERRITORIES” DISPUTE: NEIGHBORS IN SEARCH OF A GOOD FENCE

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Russo-Japanese relations are held hostage by a group of four islands just north of Hokkaido. This thesis attempts to answer whether the dispute may be solved, and what is necessary for resolution. The argument is made that the islands have little strategic or material value of themselves, but symbolically they are of great value to both Russia and Japan. Public opinion and domestic politics in both countries drives the debate and is the reason for the stalemate, as there is almost no room for negotiators to work with. There is increased cooperation and better relations between Japan and Russia, and both countries recognize benefits that would come about if the territorial dispute was resolved. However, because the issue is swathed in pride and symbolism, resolution in the near term is unlikely unless an external stimulus provides an incentive to change the paradigm upon which Russo-Japanese relations are based.

KEYWORDS: Japan—Foreign Relations—Russia (Federation); Japan—Foreign Relations—1638-; Japan—Foreign Relations—Soviet Union; Soviet Union—Foreign Relations—Japan; Kuril Islands (Russia); Northern Territories; Northeast Asian Security; Japan—Boundaries—Russia (Federation)

THE EUROPEAN UNION’S HEADLINE GOAL: AN OPERATIONAL ASSESSMENT

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In December 1998, French and British leaders declared that the European Union (EU) must develop the capacity for autonomous military action to respond to international crises. In December 1999, EU leaders meeting in Helsinki established the Headline Goal—defined as the autonomous ability to deploy 60,000 troops in 60 days for an operation lasting as long as one year to conduct the “Petersberg Tasks” of humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping, and peacemaking. The deadline for the operational capability of the Headline Goal is December 2003. Although in December 2001 the EU declared that it had “some” operational capability, it remains unable to conduct certain Petersberg Tasks, especially “upper” level missions such as peacemaking on the model of NATO’s Kosovo intervention. Despite the current military force structures of EU member states, significant capability shortfalls, and stagnant or declining defense budgets in most EU countries, it appears that the EU will be able to conduct lower-level Petersberg Tasks in permissive environments by December 2003. However, capabilities needed for upper level tasks, such as strategic airlift, will take several years to develop and acquire—far beyond the deadline of December 2003.

KEYWORDS: European Union, Rapid Reaction Force, European Security and Defense Policy, Headline Goal

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TERRORISM AND U.S. COUNTERTERRORISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States exposed the vulnerability of democracy to such actions. An adequate response requires U.S. counterterrorist policy to interact with broader U.S. foreign policy, a difficult and complex balancing act that often handicaps or limits potential gains in the “war against terrorism.” In Southeast Asia, separatists and extremist groups use terrorism as it is much more likely to lead to the undermining of fragile governments. Any one country, regardless of that nation’s power or influence within the region, cannot counter terrorism in Southeast Asia. To be effective, counterterrorism demands understanding the terrorist’s psychology, motivations and goals. The challenge presented by the region’s geography requires the shared use of counterterrorist assets including intelligence, military force and international cooperation in policing and upholding international law and covenant. Identifying the nature of the terrorist threat must be the key element to U.S. policy. The diverse nature of terrorism and its various causes within the region must first be understood before being effectively countered. U.S. efforts must be guided by a balanced approach that looks not only at removing the terrorist, but removing the terrorist’s *raison d’etre*.

KEYWORDS: Terrorism, Political Terrorism, Revolutionary Terrorism, Counterterrorism, United States Foreign Policy, Low-Intensity Conflict, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Al-Qaeda, Jemmah Islamiyah